

NORTHLIFFE TELLS
OF PEACE PLANS

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take its fair share of the burden of maintaining order and facilitating the change from military to civilian organization. The second stage of the passage from war conditions to peace conditions will begin as soon as it is certain that the security provided at the first stage ought to be sufficient to enable us to pass through the second stage quickly. With sufficient guarantees there need be no waiting to see whether the transformation of the German Government from an irresponsible autocracy to a responsible democracy is as genuine as it is represented to be or whether the changed professions of those who are speaking for the people represent a change of heart.

The indispensable principles that Germany must accept at this second stage have been stated in different forms at different times, but the consensus of opinion of all classes in the associated Powers seems to me to be so clear that it is not difficult to state them objectively in a form very close to that which they likely will assume in their final enunciation.

Restoration of Belgium.

First is complete restoration of territorial, economic and political Belgium. In this there can be no reservation, no bargaining, no attempts to raise counter claims or offsets. By her violation of international law and subsequent treatment of Belgium Germany has forfeited all right to discussion. Reparation is impossible, but who must undertake restoration in such form and measure as shall be indicated to her.

Second. Freeing of French territory, reconstruction of the invaded provinces and compensation for all civilian losses and injuries. Here again restoration in any full sense of the word is beyond human power, but Germany must accept the full burden of material reconstruction, replacement and compensation in such form and measure as shall be laid down.

Third. Restoration to France of Alsace-Lorraine, not as territorial acquisition or as part of a war indemnity, but as reparation of the wrong done in 1871, when the inhabitants of the two provinces, whose ancestors voluntarily chose French allegiance, were incorporated into Germany against their will.

Fourth. Readjustment of the northern frontiers of Italy as nearly as possible along the lines of nationality. The eastern Adriatic frontiers to be determined in

accordance with the principles embodied in the Italo-Yugo-Slav agreement, ratified in Rome by the congress of April, 1918.

Austro-Hungarian Problem.

Fifth. Assurance to all peoples in Austria-Hungary of their place among the free nations of the world, and their right to enter into a union with their kindred beyond the present boundaries of Austria-Hungary.

This involves the creation of independent Czechoslovak, Yugo-Slav States and the reduction of Hungary to the ethnographic limits of the Magyar race present in the territory of Hungary. In the same way the Poles and Ukrainians in the Dual Monarchy must be free to realize their national aspirations across existing frontiers, and it is obvious that the same right of self-determination cannot be denied to the German provinces of Austria should they desire to enter Germany as a Federal unit.

Sixth. Evacuation of all territory formerly included in the boundaries of the Russian Empire, annulment of all Russian treaties, contracts and agreements made with subjects, agents or representatives of enemy Powers since the revolution, and unimpeded access to the former Russian and unimpeded operation with the associated Powers in securing conditions under which the various nationalities in the former empire of Russia shall determine their own form of government.

When Russia offered peace and reconciliation without annexations or indemnities, the Central Powers, taking advantage of their military positions, rejected all considerations of justice and imposed terms that were brutal and selfish. Thus they forfeited all right to aid the Russians and various nationalities in the former empire of Russia in their efforts to establish self-determination, and their own form of government.

Independent Polish State.

Seventh. This indispensable principle concerns the formation of an independent Polish State, with access to the sea, which State shall include the territories inhabited predominantly by Polish population, and secondly indemnification of Poland by the Powers responsible for the havoc wrought. This condition is indispensable for a reign of justice in Europe. Germany has ruthlessly oppressed the Poles within her empire and justice and stability demand the restoration of the predominantly Polish parts of the present German Empire to a new Polish State.

Eighth. Abrogation of the treaty of Bucharest, evacuation and restoration of Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro, the associated Powers to aid the Balkan States in settling finally the Balkan question on an equitable basis.

The Balkan question must be settled, and it follows from that principle of self-determination to which the associated Powers adhere that the Balkan States must be encouraged to agree among themselves and be given what ad-

vice and assistance they may ask in the coming agreement.

Ninth—Removal as far as practicable of Turkish dominion over all non-Turkish peoples.

The complexity of the distribution of nationalities in the present empire of Turkey makes the details of this problem difficult, but failure of the Turks to act and intention to rule justly has been so disastrous and the acquiescence of the Central Powers in Turkish misdeeds so complete that no departure from this principle can be considered.

Tenth—The people of Schleswig to be free to determine their own allegiance.

The case of Schleswig is a fundamental instance of the fashion in which Prussia and Austria used their might to override the principle of self-determination and the wrong done must be redressed.

Reparation for U-Boat Warfare.

Eleventh—As reparation for the illegal submarine warfare waged by Germany, and Austria-Hungary these Powers shall be held liable to replace merchant tonnage belonging to the associated neutral nations that was illegally damaged and destroyed.

In spite of repeated warnings and in defiance of pledges which they had given to the Government of the United States, then a neutral Power, the Central Powers persisted in an operation which by nature and the fashion in which it was conducted outraged both international law and common humanity.

The question of punishment must be dealt with separately; that of restoring ships or their equivalents and the material compensation to the victims or their families cannot be a subject of discussion or negotiation.

Twelfth—Appointment of tribunals before which there shall be brought for impartial justice as soon as possible individuals of all belligerents accused of offenses against the laws of war or humanity.

While I regard this condition as essential to a preliminary peace and as a just concession to the outraged conscience of humanity, I admit freely its practical application is full of difficulty. I foresee extraordinary difficulty in assigning the responsibility and I recognize that during the actual conduct of war there are reasons why belligerents should hesitate to punish adequately those who in normal times they would unhesitatingly condemn. I offer my own solution of this difficult problem.

To Punish Their Own Criminals.

It is that the appointed tribunals should act as courts of the first instance. They would hear evidence brought against the accused and if they found a prima facie case to be established against them they would refer them to their own countries for ultimate trial, judgment and sentence. I believe more stern justice will be done if the nations which desire to purge

themselves condemn their own criminals than if their punishment were left to other nations, which might hesitate to be severe lest they should invest the individuals punished with the halo of martyrdom.

Thirteenth—The former colonial possessions of Germany lost in consequence of her illegal aggression against Belgium shall in no case be returned to Germany.

Germany's possession of her colonies would have been inviolate but for her illegal aggression against Belgium, which brought England into the war. She has proclaimed that the fate of her colonies would be decided on the western front. It has been so decided. She has proclaimed the uses to which, if victorious, she would put her colonies. Such uses must be prevented forever in the interest of peace.

Furthermore, there is this consideration that after what has happened it would be as intolerable for Australia to have New Guinea in German hands as it would be for the United States to have Germany in possession of Cuban colonies. Therefore they cannot be returned to Germany, but their assignment as possessions or in trusteeship, together with the fashion in which they shall be administered in the interests of their inhabitants and the world generally, are matters for future decision.

Indispensable Conditions.

These are indispensable conditions of peace which must be accepted as the second stage of negotiations. I have dealt with the first two stages as logically separate and successive. In actual fact agreement on them might be coincident in time. In any event, acceptance of the indispensable conditions should be made before the guarantees as required under the terms of surrender of the armistice, had become an accomplished fact.

The completion of the first two stages, whether concurrent or consecutive, will be the end of dictation. They form a preliminary to cooperation. They will be the earnest of a complete break with the past on the part of Germany. They will go far to satisfy the natural desire of those who demand that the guilty should be punished, and yet I believe they contain nothing not imperative for a just and lasting peace, and I hope their prompt acceptance will be at its subsequent stages make it possible to take advantage for the benefit of all the world of those powers of discipline and organization which Germany has never yet led to the great harm of the world.

The third stage, I should consider, consists of the appointment of a large number of commissions to study and work out the details of the principles I have enumerated. These commissions will report ultimately some of them quickly and some of them after months or years to the central peace conference.

For my part, I see no reason why the members of the commissions, if the principles on which they shall act are settled before the conference will be done chiefly from among those who have the

greatest interest in the matters to be settled.

I do not see, for instance, why a commission consisting largely of Poles and Prussians should not be asked to work out the future frontier of Prussia and Poland. This may be thought the suggestion of an idealist, but I claim that in this instance the idealist is the realist. If our goal is to be a lasting peace, then let us give every opportunity for arrangements of mutual accommodation before we resort to compulsion.

So far I have said nothing of the future government of Germany. The Germans assure us that the transformation from an autocratic government to a responsible government is taking place. I should like to believe it. I am certain it is necessary to the final attainment of a just and lasting peace.

I frankly admit a perfect form of government does not exist and that the genius of Germany may evolve some form as good as or even better than existing constitutions. But Germany time to convince the world, which has so much reason to distrust her, that this sudden change is to be a permanent reality.

Fortunately the stages I have described do not require for their accomplishment more than the hope that Germany has set out in the eight past weeks. The last stage is in progress. There will be time, and more than time, to see whether Germany realizes our hopes and what I believe now to be the wishes of a majority of her own people.

For this last stage will mean nothing less than the reconstruction and organization of the world and establishing a new policy in which a league of free nations shall replace the old system of a balance of rival Powers.

The accomplishment of a change so gigantic as adjusting national organizations to fit into a new international machinery must be difficult and slow. Fortunately the very steps necessary to make it possible are the steps that will slowly make it actual.

Let me select a few simple examples. The cessation of hostilities will leave the world short of food, short of transport and short of raw materials. The machinery that has regulated these during the war will have to be kept in action beyond the war.

Food will have to be rationed, transport will have to be rationed, and raw material will have to be rationed. It will be a world problem that can be solved only on a world basis and there will be every opportunity in the years of transition to transform these economic relations which were forced upon us by necessity into a system which will meet with free general acceptance.

Intimately connected with these matters will be the problems of the returned

soldiers whether wounded or otherwise, the problem of persons to be housed, wages, housing, hours and conditions of work, child labor, female labor, and so forth. The equalization of those in different countries will be necessary to fair rationing and from this necessity will arise international conferences of workers which may be able to settle some of the most difficult questions of super-national organization.

When the question of disarmament arises some will demand as a fundamental necessity that their nation must have a large army or a large navy. Some will advocate as an act of punishment or justice disarmament of other nations. In consequent negotiations it will soon be found that to insist on an unduly large army or navy is to saddle one's country with a huge expense; to insist on the disarmament of another country may be to present that country with a huge annual income that can be used in commercial rivalry.

And so we may come to a condition in which if there is to be international security there will be a contest not as to which country shall maintain the largest navy or the largest army, but as to which country shall most completely disarm.

I foresee international conferences at work for a long time trying to establish frontiers, conditions, parliamentary responsibility, canons of international law, rules of international commerce, laws, even religious freedom, and a thousand other conditions of national organization.

In the very act of seeking the foundation for a league of free nations, and slowly building up the fabric, we shall get rid of passions and fears of war. By mere endeavor to find a way to better the conditions of the world we shall bring this better condition about.

McCORMACK TO SING NOV. 12.

Expected to Raise \$100,000 at Concert for United War Work.

John McCormack, the famous tenor, yesterday postponed his concert tour to the Pacific coast to remain in New York for a fortnight longer to appear at the concert to be given by him in the Metropolitan Opera House Tuesday night, November 12, for the benefit of the United War Work Campaign under the auspices of the Allied Theatrical, Motion Picture and Musical Trust for the great charity drive.

Mr. McCormack and his managers, Messrs. Wagner and Mcweeney, are arranging an all star concert program for this gala occasion, which will be their joint contribution to the drive. It is hoped to raise \$100,000 at this concert.

Intimately connected with these matters will be the problems of the returned

24 HOUR RALLY TO
END FIGHT ON BAIRD

New Jersey Women Have Carried Contest Into the Smallest Hamlet.

The campaign of the National Woman's party against the election of David Baird as United States Senator from New Jersey until March 4, 1919, will be brought to a close with a twenty-four hour open air meeting in Military Park, Newark, at which twenty-four women spellbinders will talk and talk. The meeting will start at 7 o'clock to-morrow morning and will close at 7 o'clock on Tuesday morning, at which hour the polls will open.

It will be under the direction of Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, New Jersey chairman of the National Woman's party, who has had charge of all the whirlwind activities of that organization against Mr. Baird in the last ten days.

The speakers will include Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, Mrs. Mary Beard, wife of Prof. Charles Beard; Mrs. Minna Van Winkle, Mrs. Abbie Scott Baker, Miss Helen Todd, Mrs. E. M. Laird, Miss Mary Dubrov, Mrs. O. L. Moore, Miss Gladys Griener, Mrs. Toscan Bennett and others. The keynote speech will be made at the midnight hour by Miss Todd, queen spellbinder for Tammany's candidate for Governor of New York. The rostrum will be in the care of Mrs. Helena Hill Wood, who has toured every township and cross-road in New Jersey with a sign urging voters (women don't count at the polls in New Jersey) to cast their ballot for Charles O'Connor Hennessey, Mr. Baird's Democratic opponent. Miss Vida Mithelland will sing between some of the speeches.

Every Hamlet Visited.

Since prominent members of the Woman's Suffrage party from all parts of the country invaded New Jersey to punish Mr. Baird for his negative vote on the national suffrage amendment by working for the election of Mr. Hennessey they have visited every city, hamlet and town in the State. More than 200,000 leaflets have been distributed, hundreds of meetings have been held and literally thousands of hearts to heart

talks have been had with groups of men on street corners, in country stores and elsewhere.

On Friday and Saturday flying squadrons completed the "mopping up" processes in all the counties, carrying the "Down with Baird, Up with Hennessey" banner into homes, back yards and wherever two or three men could be found gathered together. Mrs. A. J. Row of Short Hills and Mrs. Abbie Scott Baker flattered ninety miles on one trip, during which they left literature at stores and cottages and even held up traffic as they left their message with a traffic cop in one of the larger towns.

"And on that ninety mile trip," said Mrs. Baker yesterday, "we met but one man who refused to put up one of our signs. He lived in Summit. The only anti-woman suffragist whom we encountered stood hailing himself on a ladder. Loftily he repeated that old familiar statement, 'Woman's place is in the home!'"

For Anybody but Baird.

The argument which the women are using is that the election of Mr. Hennessey, instead of Mr. Baird, might mean the deciding vote for the adoption of the national suffrage amendment before the term of the present Senate ends on March 4 next. They are urging men to vote for Edgo and Hennessey and La Monte and Hennessey, but "not for Baird nohow."

In predicting the election of Gov. Edgo for the full term Senatorship and of Mr. Baird for the short term, Newton A. K. Hughes, chairman of the Republican State committee, said: "The sturdy Americanism of David Baird has so appealed to the people that he will be a close second to Edgo. I had hoped that the suffragettes would not carry their fight against him to such lengths as to offend those who might be for their cause."

Mrs. Jessie Leonard Maxwell of Trenton, one of the vice-presidents of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, gave out through the New Jersey Republican State headquarters yesterday a statement in which she said:

"New Jersey has spoken on this question at the polls in no uncertain voice. That majority against woman suffrage truly represents the sentiment of the women of New Jersey. Indeed, we have protested against having this responsibility imposed upon us against our will."

"David Baird in his platform truly represents the sentiment of the majority of New Jersey women. His election means that the women of this State will be properly represented on that question. His defeat would mean that we would be misrepresented."

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Pianos and Player-Pianos

FIFTY instruments of various makes—the finest we have ever offered—are now on display in our Warerooms at 437 Fifth Avenue. The sale includes fine, classic instruments, whose names alone signify the finest productions of the musical industry. Many of these instruments are encased in San Domingo Mahogany, French and Circassian Walnuts, and also comprise numerous Art Designs in both Grands and Uprights.



THE popularity of Kuabe Ampico Reproducing Pianos has made it possible for us to take these pianos in exchange at their actual values, without inflated allowances. The handling of used instruments is part of our business of marketing the Knabe products. They are all instruments of fine quality, that we have accepted in trade as partial payment, and which we have taken to accommodate our customers:—such instruments as

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Some of the Bargains offered in this Sale

Knabe Mignon Grand in Rosewood, like new	\$725	Foster Player, all improvements	\$460
Knabe Baby Grand in Mahogany	825	Brewster Upright, demonstration used only	240
Knabe Upright, Mission case, a gem	445	Wissner Mahogany, like new	265
Knabe Louis XV, in Walnut	975	Shoninger Mahogany Upright	310
Knabe Upright, entirely overhauled	330	Sohmer Baby Grand, same as new	550
Knabe Art Upright, unusual casing	1100	Haines Bros. Baby Grand, perfect, in Mah'	575
Knabe Angelus Player Piano, fine Mahogany	710	Hardman Baby Grand, entirely renewed	440
Knabe Mignonette Grand, Mission case	850	Six Uprights in good shape	110
Steinway Baby Rosewood, satin finish	785	Knabe Colonial Art Case Upright	610
Steinway Parlor Grand, like new	665	Haines Bros. De Luxe Flexotone Player	575
Steinway Upright, a gem	335	Haines Bros. De Luxe Player, Mahogany	635
Steinway Mahogany Upright, perfect	463	Hazleton Upright, like new	310
Steinway Upright, tone and action A1	410	Henschel Mahogany, a gem	225
Chickering Mahogany Upright, as new	525	Foster Player, exhibition used	550
Chickering Upright, small size, perfect	290	Biddle Upright, a bargain	65
Chickering Upright, Cabinet Grand	325	Ludden & Bates, as new	165
Weber Pianola, Mahogany, excellent	825	Armstrong Player, like new	440
Weber Upright, same as new	360	Draper Upright, fine case	220
Pease Upright, a bargain	210	Knabe Angelus, Circassian Walnut	695
Haines Bros. Upright, Colonial design	375	Knabe De Luxe Player	770
Armstrong Miniature Grand, Mahogany	495	Foster Upright, perfect	270
		Haines Bros. large size Colonial	410

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Tea Cloths, each	27.50 to 55.00
Scarfs, each	13.50 to 60.00
Luncheon Sets, set	60.00 to 150.00
Sheets, each	60.00
Pillow Cases, pair	19.75
Towels, each	4.25 to 5.50
Chair Backs, each	3.75 to 7.50
Napkins, ..dozen	29.50 to 65.00

Fine Madeira
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Dinner Cloths, each	\$48.00 to \$95.00
Lunch Cloths, each	12.75 to 39.50
Tea Cloths, each	6.75 to 7.50
Scarfs, each	2.25 to 18.50
Luncheon Sets, each	3.95 to 25.00
Tray Cloths, each	.45 to 3.75
Pillow Cases, pair	9.50
Towels, each	1.50 to 6.50
Tea Napkins, dozen	6.75 to 9.50

Real Cluny
Lace-trimmed—Decorative
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(Many Brands Fully Hand-embroidered)	
Dinner Cloths, each	\$20.00 to \$100.00
Lunch Cloths, each	11.25 to 50.00
Tea Cloths, each	6.75 to 10.25
Scarfs, each	5.75 to 17.50
Centerpieces, each	2.00 to 7.50
Douilles, ..dozen	1.25 to 25.00

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21	6x9 feet	Wool and Fibre	\$16.50	35	9x12 feet	Seamless Wiltons	\$67.50
12	6x9 feet	Seamless Wilton	\$39.50	3	9x14 feet	Wilton	\$69.00
6	6x9 feet	Axminster	\$24.50	5	9x15 feet	Wilton	\$78.50
20	6x9 feet	Royal Wilton	\$36.75	7	10x13 1/2	Royal Wiltons	\$88.25
6	8 1/2x10 1/2	Royal Wilton	\$54.50	1	10 1/2x13 1/2	French Chenille	\$100.00
3	8 1/2x10 1/2	Royal Wilton	\$59.50	3	11 1/2x12 1/2	Royal Wiltons	\$79.50
3	8 1/2x10 1/2	Seamless Wilton	\$60.00	3	11 1/2x12 1/2	Worsted Wiltons	\$67.50
5	8 1/2x10 1/2	Hartford Saxony	\$75.00	1	11 1/2x15 1/2	Royal Wiltons	\$98.50
10	9x12 feet	Hartford Saxony	\$78.50	11	10 1/2x10 1/2	Royal Wiltons	\$69.50
12	9x12 feet	Extra Wiltons	\$89.00	10	10 1/2x12 1/2	Royal Wiltons	\$78.50

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